1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
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this on following Sundays too. They may bring chocolate and wine and a *chiquihuite* of bread and put this before the *santo* also. Usually the boy and girl know the matter is settled before the formal consent is given.

The wedding ceremony is performed by the priest in the church, if the priest is there and if the families can afford it. Civil marriage is required by law and obviates difficulties of inheritance; but it is not well regarded and is done reluctantly and with no feeling of a sanction received. Not uncommonly neither ceremony is performed.[1] After the wedding there is a feast, with *mole poblano* ["turkey *mole*"]. This takes place at the house of the groom. His parents and godparents stand the expense. The girl's wedding costume is likewise paid for by the boy's parents and godparents. The relatives and friends of both families come to the wedding feast; sometimes dancing goes on for two nights.

The marriage is in part a recognition of the new relationship between two families: between the parents and godparents of the bride and those of the groom. All these people are now *compadres*, a very close and intimate relationship characteristic of the peasant peoples of Catholic South Europe. The importance of the godfather, who to a certain extent displaces the father in control over and responsibility for the child, is described by Gamio;[2] the relationship is about the same in Tepoztlán.

The family organization is in general European. The details of family relationships among the Aztecs are unknown. But a comparison of present kinship terms in Tepoztlán with those used by the Aztecs[3]

[1] The collected information does not warrant a statement as to the extent of informal unions without any ceremonial recognition.

[2] *La población del valle de Juan Teotihuacan*, II, 243.

[3] This is done in a table in Appendix A.

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daughter four or five times a week. In the four-day period seven and one-half hours were consumed in marketing trips.

The daughters spend more time than the mother in sewing and knitting and going to church. These tend to be regarded as leisure activities, and the mother does not indulge in them except when necessary because she "doesn't want to lose time." However, she devotes more time to going to church and to other religious activities than this record indicates. Both sisters, but particularly the eldest, have the reputation of being devout and spend much time going to church. Almost the only occasion for the older girl to leave the house is because of some religious activity.

In the daily routine the women of the household have many more opportunities of working together than does the family as a whole. They may work together in the kitchen, accompany one another to the plaza as chaperones, and exchange instruction in sewing and knitting. Cooperation is at its highest in preparing fiesta meals, particularly the annual barrio fiesta.

The division of labor varies from family to family and depends chiefly upon the number of sons to the number of daughters; the number of grown children to the number of small children; the amount of land, livestock, fruit trees, and other property the family owns; and the ambition and enterprise of the parents.

MARRIAGE

There are three types of marriage in Tepoztlán, namely, *por lo civil* (civil marriage), *por la iglesia* (church marriage), and *uniones libres* (free unions). According to the Mexican Census of 1940 ten per cent of all married couples in Tepoztlán were married by civil law alone, twenty-five per cent by church alone, and fifty per cent by both civil law and church; and fifteen per cent had entered into free unions. To understand the distribution of these types of marriage it must be remembered that since 1928 civil marriage has been obligatory by law. Before that time most people in Tepoztlán married only by church, or lived in free union. Church marriage still carries the greatest prestige and, as in most of Mexico, is considered the only true form of marriage by the majority—but especially by the older folk. Civil marriage is viewed as a preliminary to church marriage; the priest is not supposed to marry anyone who does not have a legal marriage certificate. But marriage by civil law alone is increasing. A study of all Tepoztecan marriages recorded in Tepoztlán between 1941 and 1946 showed that a little over twenty per cent were civil marriages not followed by church marriages. The reasons for this trend will be discussed later.

The relatively low status of civil marriage is reflected in the types of people who marry only *por lo civil:* (1) orphaned girls with no family to press for a church marriage; (2) girls who become pregnant before marriage; (3) women who have had one or more children out of wedlock; (4) second marriages; (5) elopements; (6) poor boys who cannot afford a church wedding. In these cases there is an absence of elaborate preparation for the marriage. The couple generally appear

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582 621 joining barrios of the center, namely Santo Domingo, San Miguel, and La Santísima. Table 15 also shows that individuals from the smaller barrios of San Pedro, Los Reyes, and San Sebastián marry very little with individuals of the larger barrios. It is noteworthy that there was not a single marriage between the barrio of San Pedro and Santo Domingo. These two barrios represent the extremes in size and are also at opposite ends of the village.

586 *Divorce and Separation:* On the whole, marriage is quite stable in Tepoztlán. Divorce as such is practically unknown. However, separations occur and may be initiated by either spouse. In the cases we have studied there were about as many wives who left their husbands as vice versa. The most frequent cause for separation on the part of the husband is that he finds another woman more attractive. Since [837] it is common for men to have mistresses, permanent attachments are often formed and the wife and children may be abandoned. Most of the cases of abandonment [588] are those of free unions. A man will feel greater hesitation at leaving his wife if he has been married by church. Infidelity on the part of the wife is considered a just [897] cause for beating her but it is rarely a cause for separation. A wife may leave her husband if he drinks too much or if he is lazy or beats her too often. Of course, wives are supposed to put up with these things, but some do not. Interference by parents often leads to separations. The local judge, who has heard many cases of marital discord, considers parental interference as the primary factor in most separations.

When a separation occurs, the children invariably stay with the mother. The husband takes no responsibility for his family and makes no contribution for their support. Indeed, it is so unusual for a man to support an abandoned wife that when it does happen it is said that he must have been bewitched. However, when a man continues to help support his wife (*pasar los gastos*) after he has left her, he still retains sexual rights and may treat her as a *querida* (sweetheart). Godparents of [608] the spouses may make some effort to reconcile the couple but this is not always [792] effective. In the past few years the *monjas* (Catholic nuns) who have come to the village have been making a house-to-house campaign to try to unite separated couples and to marry couples who have been "living in sin." They have met with little success, for Tepoztecans resent their activities as undue interference in their personal matters.

[578] As might be expected in a village of this size, separations invariably lead to a great deal of gossip, accusations, and bitterness, and usually involve many more individuals than just the spouses.

178 58 *Changes in Marriage:* The principal changes which have occurred in marriage in Tepoztlán since 1910 are as follows: (1) delay in the age of marriage for girls, earlier marriage for boys, and the consequent development of a period of adolescence and courtship; (2) transition from a system of marriage arranged by the parents, with or without the consent of the children, to one in which the individuals choose their spouses but may follow the formal procedures of having their parents act as intermediaries for the marriage arrangements; (3) elimination of the bride

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TABLE 53. Criminal Offenses, During Six Selected Years.

Criminal Offense	1920	1927	1935	1941	1942	1943	Total
Robbery	9	20	11	14	18	14	86
Homicide	3	2	1	2	2		10
Lesions and blows	17	44	38	39	20	34	192
Fraud	2	3	..	1	1	3	10
Rape (or elopement)	2	2	2	2	3	2	13
Injuries and threats	3	31	45	26	40	55	200
Breaking into a house	3	16	13	6	9	10	57
Abuse of authority	.	1	..	1	1	2	5
Trespass	..	3	..	7	5	2	17
Calumny or defamation	.	8	12	13	10	17	60
Damages	..	17	12	11	8	12	60
Plunder or spoilation	1	3	5	4		8	21
Adultery	1	6	2	2	2	1	14
Seduction	2	5	3	3			13
Violation (sexual)		5	1	1			7
Arson		2	1	.		1	4
Assault		..	3	1	2	5	11
Abandonment		2	4	9	3		18
Scandal	..	2	..	..	..	..	2
Aggression	..	1	1	..	2	..	4
Helping a criminal	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
Falsification of documents	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
Bigamy	..	.	..	1	..	..	1
Kidnapping	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
Total	43	175	154	144	126	166	808

Teotihuacán and also from Cholula. This agrees in a general way with the historical reconstructions based on the early chroniclers for this area. Wigberto Jiménez Moreno has suggested [9] that Tepoztlán was probably one of the places settled by the earliest Nahua invaders who entered the Morelos region from Guerrero and the southeast, perhaps in the seventh century, after having come from the north. According to Orozco y Berra, the early Toltecs passed through Cuauhnahuac or Cuernavaca in VIII Acatl or 603 A.D.[9] However, more recent historians place the earliest recorded invasion of the present region of Morelos in the tenth century.

Mixcoatl, the founder of the Toltec Empire, invaded the valley of Mexico about 900 A.D. and the valley of Morelos in 902 A.D.[10] Mixcoatl led a Nahua horde which came into contact with the Mazahua-Otomies with whom they mixed. According to Jiménez Moreno, Mixcoatl had a son by a Tepoztecan woman. This son, Ce Acatl Topiltzin, was born in the year 935 A.D. by the Mixteco calendar, or 947 A.D. by the Nahua calendar, the same year that his father, Mixcoatl, was assassinated by paternal relatives who were Chichimeca. Jiménez Moreno identifies Topiltzin as

[9] In personal communications to the writer.

[9] Manuel Orozco y Berra, *Historia Antigua de la Conquista de México*, 3 (Mexico City, 1880), 24.

[10] Florencia Muller, *La Historia Vieja del Estado de Morelos*. (Unpublished thesis, p. 151.) See also, Alberto Ruz Lhuillier, *Guía Arqueológica de Tula* (Mexico, 1945), p. 12. Introduction by Wigberto Jiménez Moreno.

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tudes toward sex and sexuality. Most of the attitudes toward sex are negative and prudish and, at least superficially, in accord with Catholic tradition.

Women have a negative attitude toward bearing children. They try to keep the number of pregnancies to a minimum by long nursing and by abstaining from sexual intercourse. Pregnancy is commonly described as "being ill with child," and pregnant women are embarrassed by their condition and make every attempt to conceal it. There is an absence of sexual play between husbands and wives; many women refer to the sex act as "the abuse by the man," and the genitals are generally considered ugly or dirty. There is a widespread belief among adolescent girls that sexual intercourse is painful. Open courtship is not sanctioned, and girls are severely punished for having any relations with boys. The existence of the double standard and the greater personal freedom of boys and men tend to encourage male sexuality. Romantic love, as we conceive it, is practically unknown; romantic attachments are relatively superficial and easily made and broken. Courtship is an intriguing, exciting pastime but it is always cautious, seldom impulsive or passionate.

It cannot be said, however, that Tepoztecans are puritanical, nor are they burdened with feelings of guilt or concepts of sexuality as something sinful.[4] Rather, Tepoztecans place greater value upon sexual restraint than upon sexual activity; just as they do not encourage emotional expressiveness, so do they not encourage active sexuality. Adult sexual activity is discouraged, not so much for reasons of morality but for practical reasons of safety. Parents fear that a young son may make an undesirable attachment with a widow or a dangerous attachment with a married woman, or he may be bewitched by a jealous sweetheart; they fear even more strongly that their daughter will lose her good reputation and the chance of a respectable marriage. Women are generally reluctant to have sexual relations, because of unwanted pregnancies; men discourage sexuality in their wives for fear of being humiliated by the wife's unfaithfulness; wives fear the loss of income and the poor treatment which inevitably attend their husband's extramarital alliances.

While there is much gossip, there is no ostracism or public denouncement or persecution of those who are guilty of sexual indiscretion. The couple living in free union is unmolested, the promiscuous widow maintains her usual relations with neighbors and kin, the illegitimate child is given a similar if not entirely equal position in his mother's household and may receive aid and inheritance

[4] The relative absence of guilt feelings can also be seen in the reactions to stealing and drinking. Drinking is not considered bad in itself, but may be criticized because it takes a man away from his work and takes money which may be sorely needed for other purposes. Stealing is quite frequent and may be severely punished, but it is detection rather than the act itself which is disturbing. In case histories, informants frequently refer to little stealing episodes without any manifestation of remorse or guilt, but emphasize how ashamed they were when discovered. Men do not appear to have guilt in promiscuous sexual relations with women or in deceiving young girls. Rather, they are proud of these feats and consider any conquest to their credit. There is also practically no sense of moral responsibility toward children born out of wedlock.

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842 846 prevent the reappearance of menstruation for as long as two years. According to them, the ideal length of time to abstain is one year. Some women boast that they abstain for two years, and grandmothers say that in the old days women were not "molested" by their husbands for as much as three years, and that children were often born four and five years apart.

833 846 Today women complain that their husbands do not wait long enough and force their wives to resume intercourse after six months, some even sooner. Generally it is the husband who is blamed for the early resumption of intercourse, but it is recognized that some women are *calientes* and lack self-control. Such women are [853] [627] considered selfish because they are often *añeras,* women who have babies every year, and endanger the life of the child, who must be weaned too soon. *Añeras* are subject to much gossip, but they are relatively rare. Most women are glad to avoid sexual intercourse, which is frequently referred to as *abuso de hombre,* male abuse.

The following expresses the attitudes of many women, "My grandmother told me to guard myself from men for they are the danger. I don't protect myself from work. The thing I am afraid of is the man. My husband respects me and doesn't insist even when he is drunk. That is why I am never pregnant when I am raising little ones." The majority of husbands refuse to abstain as long as the wives wish them to, and many men use the threat of taking a sweetheart to get their wives to comply. The wife who is not jealous is fortunate, because then her husband can leave her alone for a long time. Those wives who are jealous "give in" to their husbands to keep them from going to other women and may resume intercourse in as little as two or three months. It is one of the obligations of the mother-in-law to warn her son not to "molest" his wife and to urge the daughter-in-law not to be jealous. However, it takes money to have a sweetheart or to go to prostitutes. More often the poor couple will resume intercourse sooner than others.

846 [853] [357] The extended rest of the new mother also allegedly prevents backaches, illness, and ugly skin discolorations (*paño*) on the mother's face and protects the baby's supply of milk. Thus, the good husband and father owes it to his wife and child not only to abstain from sexual relations, but also to hire a servant for two or three months. Many husbands are unable to do either. If a woman's skin remains clear of *paño* and wrinkles, it is said that "her husband has been good to her" and that "she knew how to take care of herself." When the couple lives with the husband's parents [606] it is one of the more important obligations of the husband's mother to see that her daughter-in-law receives the proper postnatal care. Normally, a woman, who is married under both civil and religious law and who has had the blessings of both sets of parents, can expect to receive the required care. Because of the expense in- [735] volved, a poor woman is not always certain of getting the maximum amount of rest and attention, but women of more means are always assured of it. Even among very poor families, if other conditions are favorable, women are well cared for after [848] giving birth. This is not true for unmarried mothers, abandoned mothers, poor [588] women without close relatives, women living in free unions or married only under civil law, mothers of very large families, and other special cases.

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Some Tepoztecans now have borrowed the customs of the city by having separate godparents for the giving of the hands (*padrino de mano*) and another pair of godparents for the nuptial Mass (*velación*), but most couples still follow the older custom of having only one set of godparents. In a few cases of highly acculturated families, the bride has a car waiting at the entrance of the church and the couple ride off for their honeymoon. Some informants expressed the opinion that the time is not far off when this custom will be widespread in Tepoztlán.

After the ceremony it is customary for the couple and the friends and relatives to return to the home of the *padrinos* where refreshments are served, and where the couple again receive marital advice from the godparents. At about noon the couple go to the groom's house. In the old days, it was usual for the couple to carry burning incense over the threshold, and I have seen this tradition carried out on two occasions. A dinner is given with *mole poblano* as the main dish. Many drinks are served, with beer taking the place of *ponche* in the more acculturated homes. After the festivities are over, the guests go home and the couple remain. Most couples do not sleep alone the first or subsequent nights because of crowded living conditions.

Church weddings are becoming increasingly costly, ranging from 300 to 1,000 pesos. Young people of both sexes look forward to having a fine church wedding. If the boy's parents approve of the girl, they will make a fine wedding, even if it means selling their animals or pawning their house. As one informant put it, "I exchanged my cows for a daughter-in-law." If parents are not willing or able to provide a suitable wedding, their son sometimes works and saves to do so himself. Saving for a wedding is much more common than saving to buy a team of oxen, a house, or something which will improve the boy's economic situation. The majority of Tepoztecan couples begin married life with little except their clothing and the satisfaction of having had a nice wedding.

BY FREE UNION

When a man and woman live together as husband and wife without either civil or church marriage, it is referred to as a free union (*unión libre*). The more acculturated Tepoztecans no longer regard this as a form of marriage. But there are many couples who have been living in free union for many years, and they are regarded as husband and wife by all concerned. The children of such marriages, if the parents record their birth in the local registry, have equal rights with other children in cases of legal disputes concerning property. During the days of the Revolution, when priests were unavailable and life was precarious, many people joined in free unions. But the existence of *uniones libres* cannot be explained simply as a phenomenon of the Revolution. Of the fifteen per cent of the couples living in free union in the village in 1940, about half of them were fairly young people, indicating that this type of marriage is not entirely going out.

An analysis of the free unions in the village reveals that the great number were second marriages for one or both of the spouses. In most cases the previous spouse

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588 [587] was still living, and remarriage by church or civil law was ruled out. Many widows with children prefer free unions, to be free to leave if the stepfather abuses her children. Some women promise their dying husbands not to remarry, to protect the children. Some of the most stable marriages in the village are cases of free unions. Most of the younger people living in free unions are cases of *raptos*.

Every few years, on the day of the barrio fiesta, the priest visits each barrio to marry all those living in free union. Sometimes there are many couples who, followed by their children, line up to be married. The nuns in the village have been [792] campaigning since 1945 to have all free unions legalized.

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589 CELIBACY--prevalence of bachelors and spinsters; reasons for celibacy; status and activities of unmarried, widowed, and divorced celibates; etc.
See also:

Religious celibates 79
Care of widows 736
Mourning 765
Chastity 831
Premarital adulthood 885

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Independence, self-reliance, and a strong sense of privacy are among the cherished values of Tepoztecan family life. Relations with the extended family are limited; there is a reticence in borrowing and calling upon others for help and, by the same token, reticence in giving help. Yet, in times of emergency a Tepoztecan turns most often to relatives, uncles, aunts, brothers, sisters, godparents, and *compadres*. Favors are carefully remembered and usually returned. There are no formal councils of the extended family, but relatives are generally well informed about one another and there is much gossip and unsolicited advice. Visiting among relatives is infrequent and for the most part is limited to special occasions, such as the annual barrio fiesta, illness, births, weddings, and deaths.

THE FAMILY AND THE HOUSE SITE

There are 662 occupied house sites in the village. Most sites contain a single house but some have two, three, and four. The number of persons per house site ranges from 1 (45 cases) to 17 (1 case). The distribution of persons per house site is shown in Table 10.

TABLE 10. Distribution of Persons per House Site.

No. of Persons	No. of House Sites
1	45
2	82
3	76
4	76
5	68
6	80
7	78
8	60
9	55
10	20
11	10
12	7
13	2
14	1
15	1
16	0
17	1
Total	662

Smaller households predominate over larger ones, reflecting the fact that most households consist of the biological family. The large number of house sites occupied by a single individual is very striking for this peasant community. It reflects the weakness of the extended family and reminds us of conditions in the urban centers.

An analysis of the kinship composition of each of the house sites is shown in Table 11.

It can be seen from Table 11 that over seventy per cent of all house sites are occupied by the biological family. When a niece or nephew lives with the family, it is almost always because the child was orphaned or abandoned. Such a child

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585 before the local municipal authorities in the same clothing they wear daily. They obtain a marriage certificate for which they pay a fee which varies with the economic status and political connections of the groom. Some pay as little as five or ten pesos; others pay as much as fifty pesos. After they get their marriage certificate [264] the couple may go to the home of the groom where chocolate, bread, wine, and *ponche* may be served. However, the simplicity of the civil marriage is in sharp contrast with the elaborate and expensive preparations for the church marriage.[6]

582 Less than a generation ago, girls commonly married between the age of twelve and fifteen and boys anywhere from sixteen to thirty, but most often in their middle and late twenties. Today there is a definite trend toward later marriage for girls and earlier marriage for boys. An analysis of 133 Tepoztlán marriages recorded in the municipio marriage registry from 1941 to 1946, inclusive, reveals that most girls marry between fifteen and seventeen and most boys between nineteen and twenty. (See Table 13.)

TABLE 13. Frequency Distribution of Age of Marriage for Men and Women in 133 Cases Recorded During 1941-1946, Inclusive.

Age	No. of Men	No. of Women	Age	No. of Men	No. of Women
12	0	1	26	2	2
13	0	0	27	1	1
14	0	5	28	2	0
15	0	22	29	3	1
16	0	28	30	2	3
17	8	27	31	0	0
18	11	15	32	1	2
19	17	11	33	1	0
20	27	1	34	2	0
21	10	0	35	3	0
22	11	4	36	3	0
23	9	3	37	3	0
24	4	0	38	2	0
25	4	0	39	0	0
			40	1	0

Eighty per cent of the women and twenty-seven per cent of the men married at nineteen or earlier, whereas only ten per cent of the women and fifty-four per cent of the men married in their twenties. There are many more marriages of men than women in their thirties and forties. The few women who marry after twenty-nine represent cases of second marriage. In the past a girl who was not married by the [589] time she was twenty had little chance of getting married; and it was said of such girls, "She might as well enter a convent," and "She is ready to dress saints." More [875] and more girls are delaying marriage in order to go through secondary school and become teachers. It is interesting to note that many of the Tepoztecan school-

[6] In the past there were two stages in the civil marriage, the *presentación* and the actual marriage.

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teachers in the village who are now in their early twenties are still unmarried and are already considered "old maids."

A study of the age difference between spouses in the 133 couples mentioned above showed that the husband was older than the wife in all but three cases. In one of these cases the husband and wife were of the same age, and in the other two the wives were one and six years older than the husbands. Table 14 shows the distribution of the age differences between spouses in which the husbands were older.

TABLE 14. Age Differences Between Husbands and Wives, 1944.

Age Difference (in years)	No. of Cases
1	20
2	13
3	24
4	15
5	11
6	15
7	11
8	3
9	5
10	2
11	1
12	2
13	1
14	1
15	2
16	0
17	1
18	1
19	1
20	4

The qualities looked for in a spouse vary considerably between boys and girls. In selecting a wife, boys generally choose a girl for romantic reasons, beauty, or personality. Girls tend to be more realistic about selecting a husband and will often refuse to marry a boy who is known to drink, chase women, be violent, or be lazy. However, status factors are very important in marriage. It is usual for boys to seek out a girl who is poorer and who has the same or less education, so that "the man can be the boss" and his family need not be ashamed before her. Tepoztecan boys tend to "respect" and avoid having affairs with girls from the more important and prosperous families, for fear of incurring reprisals from the parents of such girls. Girls, on the other hand, seek to improve their economic status with marriage, and it is rare for a girl to marry a man with less education. As a result of these attitudes, the daughters of the families in the upper economic group in the village have difficulty finding husbands. They tend to marry later, and to marry more educated men or men from the outside. Occasionally a wealthy girl in her late twenties will marry a boy poorer than herself rather than remain unmarried.

An analysis of twenty-five marriages that occurred in two of the smaller barrios

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Harvest: The harvest generally consists of two stages. The first is stripping the cornstalks of their leaves. This process is known as the *zacateo* and begins in early November. The leaves are bundled and transported to the house, where they are used for fodder. Stripping a cornfield of ten or twelve *cuartillos* takes six days of work. Sometimes men will compete to see who can strip two rows in the shortest time. The *zacate* is tied into bundles or *gavillas*. Twelve *gavillas* make up one *manojo* and twelve *manojos* make up one *carga*. These *cargas* of *zacate* are transported home on horse or mule. The transporting of the *zacate* produced on a field of ten to twelve *cuahtillos* takes three days of work, using two mules and making two trips a day.

The harvest of the corn itself begins in early December.[11] It takes about five days of work to pick the corn on a field of one hectare. A good worker can pick approximately two *cargas* of corn a day. The corn, like the *zacate*, is transported by mule and it takes about the same time, that is, three days. It is customary to celebrate the harvest by serving *pozole* to the helpers and to the men who are hired to transport the corn. During the harvest the wives may help in stripping the leaves off the ears of corn. These leaves are known as *totomaskli* and are used in making tamales. Widows often ask for permission to gather corn leaves to sell.

The *cuatequitl* or unpaid cooperative labor system referred to earlier is reserved exclusively for the planting, cultivation, and harvesting of the land owned by the barrio for the support of its chapel, and working the barrio land is the only occasion for unpaid collective labor in agriculture. There are cases of labor exchange between relatives, but this is viewed as very different from *cuatequitl*. I should like to emphasize this point, for Tepoztecan farming is highly individualistic and in this sense quite similar to our own farming.

There is some time pressure in harvesting, in those cases in which many privately owned plots are encircled by a single fence or stone wall. The farmer who has completed his harvest is entitled to allow his animals to graze, and this endangers the corn on those fields not yet harvested. To avoid this danger and the many quarrels resulting from it, the farmers within a single enclosure generally come to some agreement to have their plots harvested within a specified time, which agreement is registered with the local authorities. Although this situation would seem to call for cooperative harvesting, each family, with the aid of hired labor, harvests its own field.

In the first few days of January most farmers begin to store the corn in the storage bins that are of two types, the *xincolotes* and the *ahuatlapiles*. The corn is generally stored without being shelled so that it will better resist the corn worms which are a great problem to Tepoztecans. Sometimes a considerable portion of the harvest is eaten or spoiled by these worms. It is customary in many families to leave the corn on the cob until April or May; prior to that, they shell only what they need.

[11] Formerly stripping and harvesting were begun after the appearance of the full moon.

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No one attends all fiestas, but all attend some. Widows and older women are known to be *muy fiestera* and habitually attend as many fiestas as possible. The very poor tend to participate in the fiestas of other barrios and other villages, whereas the well-to-do are more careful to attend the religious services held in the central church. Children especially like to attend fiestas and beg to accompany their mothers or aunts. The sharp drop in school attendance during certain fiesta times is a chronic complaint of the school. Tepoztecans also frequent the fairs of Chalma, Jiutepec, Tepalzingo, Tlayacapan, and Mazatepec. Some go to buy or sell, but others go purely for diversion.

The establishment and increasing popularity of many national and patriotic holidays are making for a new type of diversion in the village. These occasions differ from the traditional fiestas, in that they are organized by the school staff and are carried out by the children. They consist of plays, dances, recitations, speeches in explanation of the holidays, and singing of national songs. Parades of school children are also becoming familiar events during the year. These celebrations are liked and well attended, and are becoming more and more a significant part of local life. Other contributions of the school to local entertainment are occasional dances and *kermeses*, at which food and drinks are sold and games played to raise money for various school needs. These activities are enjoyed by the young people, but attendance is generally small because of the resistance of the older generation to modern ballroom dancing; they look upon it as immoral, even when supervised. The school organizes occasional excursions for the children, but since these involve some expense many parents do not permit their children to participate. A literary and dramatic group was once organized in the school, but it was short lived because of local criticism and gossip.

Perhaps the next most common form of diversion is to go to Cuernavaca on one pretext or other. On Sundays, groups of young men take the bus to Cuernavaca where they spend the day walking about, playing pool, drinking in the *cantinas*, and visiting with prostitutes. Other men go to Cuernavaca for secret rendezvous with widows or married women from Tepoztlán. Women and girls go to Cuernavaca to buy or sell things at the market and to look at the store windows. A few of the more citified girls go to Cuernavaca to attend the movies and to buy the latest fashion magazines. Although it is impossible to estimate the effect of the pressure of this small but sophisticated tourist center on Tepoztlán, it is certain that it plays a strong role in providing a source of diversion and temporary personal freedom.

Sports as a form of popular diversion are limited. The traditional cockfights are all but gone and the *jaripeo* (rustic rodeo), although still liked, is declining because of the lack of skill and interest on the part of young men. Hunting is seldom indulged in as a sport, and even less so as a source of food supply. Those who are hard pressed to earn a living find it more profitable to spend the slack seasons working as peons for others. Singing and serenading at night is still popular among young men and is a source of pleasure for most villagers.

Organized sports or games were first introduced in Tepoztlán in 1922 as a con-

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More and more women are undertaking to contribute to the support of their families, even when the husband is a relatively good provider. Women traditionally raise a few chickens and pigs, and some now grow fruit trees, to earn money. Men recognize this type of activity as necessary. Some poor men blame their inability to get ahead on the fact that their wives are inept at earning or saving money, or that their wives refuse to raise chickens and pigs because they dirty up the patio and are too much trouble. One attitude, sometimes expressed among married women, is, "Why should I work? That is what I have a husband and sons for." However, many wives try to earn enough so as not to depend upon their husbands entirely for food and clothing, because "the men are too miserly to spend much on these things." The more capable women are able to earn enough to aid their husbands substantially. Without exception, every man who has been able to improve his economic situation since the Revolution has done so with the help of his wife, and in all the more prosperous homes the wives are known to be unusually capable and industrious.

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Several fairly recent social and economic changes which have occurred in the village have affected the roles of women. Women have been more affected than men by such technological changes as the building of the road, the establishment of bus service to Cuernavaca, and the introduction of the corn mills. These changes have also affected the relations between husbands and wives. Women began to patronize the corn mills over the objections of their husbands, and the success of the mills was described by a male informant as the result of "the revolution of the women against the authority of the men." The corn mills have given women from four to six additional hours a day to devote to other activities. Since women are not so tied to the *metate* now, they are able to leave the house more freely and can undertake more extensive business activities.

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An increasing number of more ambitious married women are now raising animals or growing fruit on a larger scale or are devoting more time to selling the family produce at the Tepoztlán and Cuernavaca markets. However, husbands tend to balk at the latter activity and do not easily give their wives permission to go to Cuernavaca, despite the fact that the extra earnings would be welcome. This type of work has, in the past, been carried on exclusively by widows or older unmarried women who "had no man to control them." Many of these women are known for their promiscuity, and they and their occupation have little status. In addition, men tend to associate going to Cuernavaca with going to meet a lover and do not permit their wives to go alone. Husbands also fear that people will say they can no longer support or control their wives if they go out to work. The fear of giving the wife more freedom, as well as the recognition of the threat to the man in his role as provider, outweighs the obvious economic advantages, and most men prevent their wives from earning as much as they might.

[439] [484] [589] [554] [439] [837]

Another factor which has affected husband-wife relations is the increased independence of young couples, who now seek to set up separate households soon after marriage. In the past, when wives often lived for many years with their mothers-in

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593 done by the time the husband comes home, or if the children and animals look
837 neglected, he may suspect her of having spent time with a lover. In one case, a husband noticed that the family cat ate ravenously at night as though she had not been fed all day, and he accused his wife of having been out with someone. If a wife is unusually careful about her appearance before going out, or if she is reluctant to have sexual intercourse, her husband's suspicions may be aroused.

The following conversation, or rather monologue, overheard on the Tepoztlán bus illustrates the degree of suspiciousness of the Tepoztecan husband. One woman was telling another of her difficulties with her husband whenever she returned from a trip to Cuernavaca: "If I return annoyed, he says, 'You are annoyed to have to come back to me.' If I come back contented, it is worse. Then he says, 'Now you are happy. Now you are satisfied because you saw the one you wanted to see.' It seems that I have to have a face of wood when I enter my house."

Husbands generally become less suspicious after several years of marriage, if the behavior of the wife warrants it. However, as the children get older and can assist the mother at home, and as the needs of the growing family increase, women frequently wish to devote more time to earning money. For this they need freedom
[484] and must leave the house more often, and tension and suspicion in the husband are again awakened. Men are most secure when their wives are pregnant or have
[842] an infant to care for; then women keep to the house more and are unable to undertake outside activities. Having many children, one following close upon the other, is a source of security for the men.

Promiscuous sexual activity is considered a male prerogative in Tepoztlán, and men feel under pressure to have "affairs." Although male adultery is considered undesirable, it is also viewed as natural behavior and is widespread on the part of married men. Men make no secret of the fact that they have children by other women and often recognize these children as their own. There is no strong feeling
[848] for or prejudice against illegitimate children; rather they are pitied, because "they don't have a father."

589 Illicit relations are usually with widows or unmarried women, but also frequently
548 with other married women. Many men now go to Cuernavaca where they visit
164 houses of prostitution, and venereal disease is becoming more common in Tepoztlán.

The "good" wife does not interfere with her husband's extra-marital affairs, but
[578] many wives express resentment, especially if money is involved. Some women will openly quarrel with their husbands because of jealousy and may refuse to give them money. This type of interference particularly enrages husbands and often results in a beating.

273 Drunkenness is not as common in Tepoztlán as in surrounding villages or other
593 parts of Mexico and is more disapproved of. Most men drink a small amount of
733 alcohol regularly in the evening, "to heat themselves" against the cold air of the fields, but extensive drinking is limited to Sundays, fiestas, or formal occasions. Most wives resent drunkenness, because of the probability of violence and the expenditure

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of money. But only the most aggressive wives try to break their husbands of the habit. 273

Drinking is an important emotional outlet for men. It is believed that drinking helps one to get over *mains*, and it is traditional for men to go out to drink after a quarrel at home. Sometimes the men come home drunk and aggressive; other times "because they lack judgment" they arrive full of affection and kiss and caress the members of the family. It is interesting that only under intoxication will husbands and fathers openly demonstrate their affection in this way. Repressed hostilities toward wife, mother, child, or others also frequently come out when a man has been drinking. Some husbands beat their wives only when drunk. Drinking to get courage to punish a wife, seduce a woman, or attack an enemy is also common. Men often give a particular shout or cry *"grita"* after drinking, to show that they feel brave. 593 [154] [152] [154]

Although women in Tepoztlán are not supposed to drink, a few women are known to drink regularly and have been seen in a drunken state. Drunken women often cry for hours at a time and are inconsolable. In contrast to men, they do not respond to intoxication with aggression or impulsiveness but with self-pity. Widows or abandoned wives, more than other women, tend to drink for comfort. A few modern young girls get together occasionally for drinking and smoking in secret, but they discontinue this after marriage. 273 [154] 589 [276]

PARENTS AND CHILDREN

The relations between parents and children in Tepoztlán are also conditioned by emphasis on respect and authority. Children are reared to respect and obey their elders and to submit to the will of their mother and father so long as they live under the parental roof. Not long ago, all children in Tepoztlán kissed the hands of their parents, grandparents, and godparents in greeting; now only a few families continue this custom, and children are embarrassed to do it in the presence of outsiders. In the smaller outlying villages in the municipio, hand-kissing is still a common practice. 593 [576] [178]

From infancy on, children in Tepoztlán are encouraged to be quiet, passive, and unobtrusive; older children are required to be obedient, self-controlled, and helpful. There is great emphasis placed upon "good" behavior in children, and the possibility of a child "not turning out well" is one of the fears of Tepoztecan parents. It is feared that a child who is badly raised will not be a good worker and will get into trouble. Such a child reflects ill upon his parents and is a cause for shame. 593 858

The responsibility of child rearing is felt as a heavy burden, particularly by mothers. Upon the death of a small child, it is not uncommon for the mother to comfort herself with the statement, "It is better thus, for who knows if he would have turned out well."

While both parents are held responsible by society at large for the care and conduct of their children, within the home the major burden falls upon the mother. It is the mother who feeds, bathes, and clothes the children and cares for them 593 855

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mother proudly displayed a pillowcase she had embroidered with the words, "Sleep, my love" for her eighteen-year-old son. But mothers experience some difficulty in controlling the eldest son, who frequently imitates his father in demanding much service from the women in the family and in ordering his younger siblings about. The oldest son is expected to take the place of the father upon the latter's death, and to support his widowed mother and orphaned brothers and sisters. When this occurs, there is sometimes an extended struggle between the mother and the son for authority as head of the family. Widows who inherited their husband's property are in a better position to maintain authority and are usually careful to hold on to the property until death, for fear of losing all control of their sons. Propertyless widows, whose sons work as peons to support the family, usually permit the sons to rule over their brothers and sisters and over their mothers as well. Quarrels between mothers and sons arising out of the question of authority and inheritance are not infrequent; many mothers voice apprehension as to the treatment they may expect from their sons in their old age. There are several instances in which married sons do nothing to help support an old widowed mother or even mistreat her. On the other hand, there are several cases in the village in which an adult son, married or unmarried, continues to live with the mother and to work for her, sometimes well into his thirties, before receiving a share of his inheritance.

Many widows do not remarry because "the children get angry." Grown children tend to resent sharing the mother with a stranger and fear that they will be displaced. Eldest sons are known to be especially angered or "jealous," because they will no longer be the male head of the family. One widow said her eighteen-year-old son threatened to beat her if she remarried. Some women express a sense of shame in taking another husband after their children are grown. The presence of grown children also act as a deterrent to widows having lovers.

The relations of mothers and daughters are usually very close. Not only does the mother teach the girl the household skills she knows, but they work side by side in the home until the daughter's marriage. The daughter gradually assumes the mother's role in the home and generally identifies with her. The mother's attitude toward her work, toward bearing children, and toward men and marriage becomes the girl's attitude. In homes in which the mother is dissatisfied or unhappy with her husband, the daughters are apt to take a negative attitude toward men and marriage.

With few exceptions, mothers press their daughters into service as early as possible and use them for all types of errands and chores; indeed, the way in which Tepoztecan households function makes it almost impossible for the mother to get along without help. The custom of having daughters work in the home is deeply ingrained in Tepoztlán, although less so than in the smaller surrounding villages. Many mothers resent the fact that the school takes away the girls for the major part of the day. Mothers frequently absent their daughters from school or withdraw them permanently as soon as the husband permits. Girls under the age of thirteen usually prefer to be in school and may resist the mother's attempt to keep them

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18 *adolescence, courtship, and marriage:*

882 192 [881] [589] THE PERIOD between childhood and adulthood is relatively ill-defined in Tepoztlán and unmarked by special occasion or ceremony. In the recent past, this interim was brief or non-existent for girls. Until about age twelve, girls were called *niña* or *sisigwa*, and from twelve to fourteen they were *señorita* or *ichpokame*. But because of early marriage most girls passed directly from *niña* to *señora*. *Señoritas* who did not marry soon were *solteras* or *ichpokath*. At the present time in Tepoztlán, girls are *niñas* until about age fifteen and are *señoritas* between about fifteen and twenty. Though girls over twenty are still *señoritas* they are viewed as *solteras*. Both the period of childhood and marriageability have been lengthened by several years. A majority of the parents withdraw their daughters from school at about twelve, the age at which girls were married a generation ago. This practice extends the interim period rather than childhood, because girls of twelve and over conduct themselves more like *señoritas* than like *niñas*.

882 [582]

The situation was and is quite different for boys, who, unlike girls, were not hurried into adulthood by early marriage. In the past, as well as now, boys are called *muchachos* or *piltontle* from about age seven to seventeen or eighteen. There is no native term to differentiate any periods within this wide age range. After seventeen or eighteen, boys are called *jóvenes*, *muchachos*, or *telpokath*. This period varies considerably in length, since there is no set or recommended age for marriage for boys. Compared with girls, the change in age status of boys occurs later, more gradually, and with less strain. Today the development of boys is even slower because the assumption of full-time adult work, which for many in the past took place at about ten years of age, now generally occurs at fifteen. Childhood, or the period of play and education, has thus been lengthened, and boys may go to school as late as fourteen years of age without incurring criticism.

[192] [582] [872]

ADOLESCENCE

883 The intermediate period between childhood and adulthood begins to have the characteristics of adolescence, as we know it, and some of the better educated people in Tepoztlán now use this term. There are, however, several fundamental differ-

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[539]

There are enough flowers in my heart
To make a bouquet for you.
I shall be happy and you will have no trouble
When you enjoy my love.

Novios continue to write letters to one another because of the difficulty of getting together. There is, of course, much secrecy involved in the sending of letters. Many *novios* have a secret place to leave letters, or they may be delivered [202] by a trusted friend or by a child hired for the purpose. Sometimes *novios* deliver [589] letters to one another in passing. Some widows and girls are known to hire themselves for the purpose of delivering messages for lovers, to patch up quarrels, or

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[576]

Fig. 60. A boy waiting hopefully at the plaza for a glimpse of his *novia*.

[202] to convince a girl to become someone's *novia*. These women are known as [589] *alcahuetes*. Another term for them is *corre-ve-y-dile* (run-see-and-tell). Both of [195] these are insulting terms, and such go-betweens are strongly disapproved of; they are also suspected of knowing sorcery especially appropriate for *novios*.

Meetings between *novios* may take place at the fountain (Fig. 61), in the corral of the girl's house after dark, or in a deserted spot in the daytime, always with much apprehension about being discovered. If they are *novios* for the first time, acquaintanceship generally develops slowly. *Novios* generally caress and embrace [832] but rarely kiss. Kissing is a modern innovation in courtship, and only the more sophisticated *novios* do so. Kissing is traditionally associated with religious worship,

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737

Fig. 64. Tepoztecans worry about facing a dependent old age.

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The situation of the aged varies considerably from family to family. The ownership of property, particularly of the kind which can be rented out and which produces an income with little or no work, is the best assurance for a secure old age. [428] It is for this reason that parents generally do not divide their property among the children until after death. Delayed inheritance also gives them continued control [593] over their children; if a married son lives with his parents well into their old age they are indeed fortunate, for he works the land, and the daughter-in-law does most of the work of the household. But most old people own only their house and *sitio*, with perhaps a few fruit trees and a pig, and can be self-supporting only by hiring themselves out to others, or by carrying on a business.

A large proportion of old women, especially widows, support themselves by washing and ironing clothes, by selling tortillas, by raising a few pigs and chickens for [589] sale, by buying small amounts of fruit and garden produce to sell in other villages, [887] or as midwives and *curanderas*. There are fewer non-strenuous, gainful activities for old men, particularly for those who have learned no skill other than farming. Those who have no children or relatives to whom they can turn for regular or occasional aid are in a difficult position. Occasionally an aged person finds it necessary to support not only himself but an orphaned grandchild or a disabled, unmarried son or daughter. But the majority of Tepoztecan old people are at least partially aided by a son or daughter, a nephew, or grandchild. Cases of neglect, indifference, and even cruelty occur, but are few.